

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 3369

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E.O. 11652: XGDS-2 - DATE IMPOSSIBLE TO DETERMINE

TAGS: PFOR YO GW

SUBJ: BRANDT VISIT

REF: BELGRADE 3243

1. SUMMARY: WEST GERMANY AMBASSADOR JESCO VON PUTTKAMER GAVE ME A DETAILED BRIEFING ON WILLY BRANDT'S VISIT TO YUGOSLAVIA JUNE 24-26. BRANDT AND TITO COVERED A WIDE RANGE OF ISSUES IN THEIR TALKS: LCY-SPD RELATIONS, EURGEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE, CSCE, PORTUGAL, CYPRUS, ME AND INTERNAL SOVIET SITUATION. VON PUTTKAMER, WHO SAT IN ON THE TALKS, WAS ALSO ABLE TO REPORT ON OTHER ANCILLARY SUBJECTS DISCUSSED AND TO COMMENT ON TITO'S APPARENT GOOD STATE OF HEALTH. END SUMMARY

2. AT MY REQUEST, VONN PUTTKAMER, READING FROM HIS REPORTING CABLE, GAVE ME A DETAILED BRIEFING ON THE BRANDT VISIT. TITO HAD INSTIGATED THE MEETIN;, PRESSURING BRANDT TO SQUEEZE IN A STOP IN BELGRADE BETWEEN HIS VISITS TO ATHENS AND MOSCOW. VON PUTTKAMER EXPLAINED THAT TITO HAS ENORMOUS RESPECT FOR BRANDT BOTH AS A POLITICIAN AND A PERSON AND HAS AN EXAGGERATED VIEW OF BRANDT'S INFLUENCE WITHIN EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND SOCIALIST CIRCLES. TITO AND BRANDT MET FOR TWO AND HALF HOURS. DOLANC, BAKARIC, MOJSOV AND GRLICKOV WERE PRESENT ON THE YUGOSLAV SIDE AND MATTICK, EHMKE AND VONN PUTTKAMER WERE WITH BRANDT.

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3. LCY-SPD RELATIONS: VON PUTTKAMER STATED THAT TITO HAD FLAT-OUT MISREPRESENTED IN HIS PRESS CONFERENCE AN ALLEGED AGREEMENT BETWEEN TITO AND BRANDT TO HAVE THEIR PARTIES WORK CLOSER TOGETHER. BRANDT AGREED TO NOTHING OF THE KIND AND TRIED GRACEFULLY TO STEP AWAY FROM TITO'S CLAIM IN THE PRESS CONFERENCE AND LATER IN AN AIRPORT STATEMENT.

4. CSCE: TITO AND BRANDT AGREED THAT A SUMMIT ON JULY 28 WAS LIKELY. TITO SEEMED ANXIOUS THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS COME TO AN END AND THAT THE CONFERENCE BE HELD LATE JULY. VON PUTTKAMER WAS SOMEWHAT SURPRISED AT THIS TACK BECAUSE HE THOUGHT THE YUGOSLAVS WERE QUITE CONCERNED ABOUT MINORITY ISSUES ON WHICH AGREEMENT HAS NOT BEEN REACHED BUT TITO ACTED AS IF ALL THE MAJOR ISSUES HAD ALREADY BEEN DECIDED. FOR HIM THE ONLY QUESTION REMAINING WAS WHETHER THE GOVTS AGREED THAT THE TIME IS RIGHT FOR HOLDING A SUMMIT. HOWEVER, MOST OF THE CONVERSATION DEALTH WITH FOLLOW-UP. TITO WAS SQUARELY AGAINST SETTING UP ANY FOLLOW-UP INSTITUTIONAL ORGANIZATION BUT DID INDICATE THAT THERE SHOULD BE A MEETING WITHIN 18 MONTHS AFTER THE SUMMIT AT A "LESS THAN SENIOR LEVEL". TITO DID, HOWEVER, REGARD FOLLOW-UP AS IMPORTANT WITH RESPECT TO QUESTION OF TROOP REDUCTION. HE EXPRESSED GREAT DISTRUST AND SUSPICIOUSNESS CONCERNING THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS TELLING BRANDT THAT HE THGMGHT THE SUPER-POWERS WANTED EVERYONE ELSE TO REDUCE THEIR MILITARY CAPABILITY BUT NOT THEMSELVES.

5. MIDDLE EAST: VON PUTTKAMER PEX-FJE AMBASSADOR TO ISRAEL) REMARKED THAT TITO SEEMED EXTREMELY WELL INFORMED ON THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION. HE EXPRESSED CONVERN OVER LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN ISRAEL, INCLUDING PUBLICATION OF MAPS ON A POSSIBLE NEW INTERIM SETTLEMENT BY THE LABOR PARTY WHICH HE DESCRIBED AS COMPLETELY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE ARABS. HE WAS CRITICAL OF THE US ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, OPINING THAT THE USG HAD MADE AN ENORMOUS MISTAKE IN ARMING THE ISRAELIS TO SUCH AN EXTENT AFTER THE LAST WAR, WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED AS A WAR BETWEEN THE US AND THE ARABS. BRANDT EXPRESSED REGRET THAT THE

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SOVIET UNION APPEAR COMPLETELY EXCLUDED FROM EXERTING ANY INFLUENCE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND TITO, IN TURN, RELATED THAT HE HAD TOLD SADAT THAT ONLY THE AMERICANS HAD THE CARDS THERE AND TO PLAY THE AMERICANS' CARDS. (COMMENT: THIS SOUNDS LIKE A RE-PLAY OF SADAT'S VIEW REPORTED BELGRADE 3102.) TITO AND BRANDT WENT ON TO DISCUSS SECRETARY K SSINGER'S ROLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST, TITO INDICATING THE HE THOUGHT THE SECRETARY'S

INFLUENCE IN THE US HAD BEEN "DISMANTLED" AND PRESIDENT FORD'S INFLUENCE HAD ALSO WANED AS POWER SHIFTED TO CONGRESS. BRANDT TRIED TO DISABUSE TITO, SPECIFICALLY AS TO THE SECRETARY'S ALLEGED LOSS OF INFLUENCE, TELLING TITO THAT CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT HAD ASKED PRESIDENT FORD ABOUT THE SECRETARY'S FUTURE AND THE PRESIDENT HAD INDICATED THAT SHOULD HE WIN THE ELECTION IN 1976 KISSINGER WOULD STAY ON AS SECRETARY OF STATE.

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6. CYPRUS: BRANDT TOLD TITO THAT CARAMANLIS IS AN IMPRESSIVE POLITICIAN AND MIGHT BE STRONG ENOUGH TO FORGE A COMPROMISE SETTLEMENT. TITO REMARKED THAT HE WAS MORE OR LESS OPPOSED TO THE TURKISH POSITION AS HE WANTED TO SEE A BIZONAL REUNIFICATION UNDER THE GOVERNMENT OF ARCHBISHOP MARKARIOS. TITO WAS CRITICAL OF THE US FOR BEING "SOMEWHAT RESPONSIBLE" FOR THE CYPRUS SITUATION, SAYING HE THOUGHT WE HAD WANTED TO ESTABLISH A US BASE IN THE TURKISH SECTOR OF CYPRUS.

7. PORTUGAL: TITO WAS ABSOLUTELY DEAD SET AGAINST CUNHAL. HE TOLD BRANDT THAT THE YUGOSLAVS HAVE NO CONNECTION WITH THE PORTUGUESE COMMUNISTS BUT DO HAVE SOME CONTACTS WITH CERTAIN ELEMENTS IN THE MILITARY WHICH ARE SYMPATHETIC TO SELF-MANAGEMENT SOCIALISM, INDICATING THAT THERE IS A POLITICAL GROUP BETWEEN THE COMMUNISTS AND SOCIALISTS IN PORTUGAL WITH VIEWS SIMILAR TO THE YUGOSLAVS'. BRANDT'S CHARACTERIZATION OF SOARES AS NOT A VERY SERIOUS AND ADEPT POLITICIAN DREW TITO'S AGREEMENT. TITO SAID HE WAS QUITE APPREHENSIVE CONCERN-

ING A POSSIBLE COMMUNIST TAKEOVER IN PORTUGAL BECAUSE HE THOUGHT THIS COULD LEAD TO A CIVIL WAR IN WHICH THE US MIGHT SUPPORT THE RIGHTISTS. SUCH A CIVIL WAR, ACCORDING TO TITO, WOULD HAVE A GENERAL DESTABILIZING EFFECT IN THE AREA AND HAVE A PARTICULARLY BAD IMPACT ON SPAIN. IN A DISCUSSION ON WHO WAS SUPPORTING CUNHAL THE TWO MEN AGREED THAT THE EAST GERMANS AND CZECHS WERE SUPPORTING HIM IN

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THE FIRST INSTANCE, AND ULTIMATELY THE SOVIETS. BRANDT OPINED THAT THE ROMANIANS ALSO COOPERATED WITH THE SOVIETS IN SUPPORTING CUNHAL BUT TITO REPOSED THAT THIS WAS SURELY WRONG; IF IN FACT THE ROMANIANS WERE SUPPORTING CUNHAL, TITO THOUGHT THEY WERE DOING IT ENTIRELY ON THEIR OWN. (VON PUTTKAMER TOLD ME THAT GERMAN INTELLIGENCE HAS INFORMATION WHICH BRANDT KNEW ABOUT TO THE EFFECT THAT THE ROMANIANS ARE COOPERATING WITH THE SOVIETS IN PROVIDING SUPPORT FOR CUNHAL.) TITO ASKED BRANDT TO TRY TO PERSUADE BREZHNEV TO STOP CAUSING TROUBLE IN PORTUGAL.

8. EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE: TITO TOLD BRANDT THAT IT WAS NOT NECESSARY FOR THE YUGOSLAVS TO PULL OUT OF THE ECPC IN ORDER TO ESTABLISH THEIR INDEPENDENCE. THEY HAD DONE THAT BEFORE. THE YUGOSLAVS WANT TO STAY IN THE CONFERENCE AND SUPPORT THEIR FRIENDS, THE ITALIANS, DUTCH, SPANISH AND ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTIES. HE TOLD BRANDT THAT ONE OF THE YUGOSLAV AIMS IS TO PUT A CLAUSE IN THE FINAL DOCUMENT CALLING FOR COOPERATION BETWEEN SOCIALISTS AND PROGRESSIVE FORCES IN EUROPE WHICH AT THIS POINT IS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE EAST GERMAN AND SOVIETS. ACCORDING TO VON PUTTKAMER, BRANDT DUCKED THIS ISSUE BECAUSE, AS HE LATER EXPLAINED TO THE AMBASSADOR, HE DID NOT WANT TO HAVE TO TELL TITO THAT SUCH A CLAUSE WOULD ALSO BE HARMFUL FOR THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTIES IN EUROPE.

9. INTERNAL SOVIET SCENCE: AFTER THE MEETING, WHEN ONLY BRANDT, TITO AND VON PUTTKAMER WERE STANDING IN A GROUP, TITO TOLD BRANDT THAT SOMETHING IS GOING ON IN THE SOVIET UNION BUT HE DOESN'T KNOW QUITE WHAT IT IS. HE SEEMED CERTAIN THAT IT WAS NOT A DISAGREEMENT OVER BREZHNEV'S DETENTE POLICIES BUT HE FELT SURE THAT SOMEONE OTHER THAN BREZHNEV WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE "REACTIONARY PAPERS" WHICH THE EAST GERMANS TABLED IN THE ECPC PREPARATORY SESSIONS AND HE FELT THAT WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION A GROUP MIGHT BE COMING TO THE ASCENDENCY WHICH WOULD ESPOUSE A HARDER LINE VIS-A-VIS THE EAST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES AND NATIONS.

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10. TITO'S HEALTH AND PERSONALITIES IN LCY LEADERSHIP:
VON PUTTKAMER DESCRIBED TITO AS SEEMING IN FINE HEALTH.
HE SPOKE WITH VIGOR AND APPEARED IN CONTROL OF HIMSELF
AS WELL AS OF THE MEETING. THE ONLY OTHER PERSON WHO
SPOKE ON THE YUGOSLAV SIDE, AND INDEED, SPOKE WITH A
MEASURE OF INDEPENDENCE, WAS DOLANCE, WHO, VON PUTTKAMER
CONCLUDED, COMPLETELY OVER-SHADOWED BAKARIC.

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